

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, WEDNESDAY MORNING, MARCH 19, 1826.

An Address of Henry Clay, to the Public;

Containing certain Testimony in refutation of the Charges against him, made by Gen. Andrew Jackson, touching the last Presidential Election.

ADDRESS, &c.

It was my intention to have published the testimony, now published, at an earlier period; but unavoidable delay, in the collection of it, has retarded the execution of that intention. The letter of General Lafayette, and other important documents, have been but lately received; and others, which I had just reason to expect, have not yet been obtained.

I make no apology to the public is necessary for presenting to it these pages. I am deceived if an ample justification of the act will not be found in the breast of every just and honorable man. If an officer of Government should not be too sensitive, neither should he be too callous, to assaults upon his character. When they relate to the wisdom or expediency of measures which he may have originated or supported, he should silently repose in the candor and good sense of the community, and patiently await the developments of time and experience. But if his integrity be vitally assailed; if the basest and most dishonorable motives for his public conduct be ascribed to him; he owes it to the country, his friends, his family and himself, to vindicate his calumniated reputation. Few men are so elevated that the shafts of calumny cannot reach them. These may securely trust to the invulnerable position which they have attained. The United States have perhaps hitherto produced but one man who could look down from his lofty height, without emotion, upon the missiles and the malice of his enemies; for even he had his enemies. If the malignant character of charges, the acrimony with which they have been asserted and repeated, or the perseverance which has marked their propagation, could ever authorize an appeal to the public, I think I may truly say, that I have this authority. For three years I have been the object of incessant abuse; every art, every species of misrepresentation, has been employed against me. The most innocent acts—acts of ordinary social intercourse, and of common civility—offices of hospitality, even a passing salutation, have been misrepresented and perverted to my prejudice, with an unfairness unprecedented. Circumstances have been assumed, which had no existence, and inferences have been drawn from them, which, and they been real, they would not have warranted. Besides, my enemies have themselves appealed to the public, exhibited their charges, and summoned their witnesses to its bar. Ready now and anxious as I am, and always have been, to submit any act of my public life to a full examination before any impartial and respectable tribunal whatever, I surely may expect, at least, that I shall be patiently heard by that which my accusers have themselves selected. I assure them that I will present no plea to the jurisdiction.

But desiring as I naturally am to repel the calumnies which have been directed against me, the public would have been spared the trouble of perusing this address, if Gen. Jackson had not, in the course of the last Spring and Summer, given to them the open sanction of his name. In his letter to Mr. Beverly of the 6th of June last, he admits that, in inferring my privacy to the proposition which he describes as borne by Mr. Buchanan, he may have done me injustice; and, in his address to the public of the 18th of July last, giving up the name of this gentleman, as his only witness, he repeats that he possibly may have done me injustice in assuming my authority for that proposition. He even deigns to honor me with a declaration of the pleasure which he will experience, if I should be able to acquit myself. Mr. Buchanan has been heard by the public; and I feel justified in asserting that the first impression of the whole nation was, as it is yet, that of every intelligent mind unbiased by party prejudice, that his testimony fully exonerated me, and demonstrated that Gen. Jackson, to say no more, had greatly misconceived the purport of the interview between them. And further; that so far as any thing improper was disclosed by Mr. B., touching the late Presidential election, it affected General Jackson and his friends exclusively. He having manifestly injured me, speculation was busy, when Mr. Buchanan's statement appeared, as to the course which the General would pursue, after his gratuitous expression of sympathy with me. There were not wanting many persons, who believed that his magnanimity would immediately prompt him publicly to retract his charge, and to repair the wrong which he had done me. I did not participate in that just expectation, and therefore felt no disappointment that it was not realized. Whatever other merits he may possess, I have not found among them, in the course of my relations with him, that of forbearing to indulge vindictive passions. His silent contemplation of, if not his positive acquiescence in, the most extraordinary interpretation of Mr. Buchanan's statement, that ever was given to human language, has not surprised me. If it had been possible for him to render me an act of spontaneous justice, by a frank and manly avowal of his error, the testimony now submitted to the public might have been unnecessary.

Although I feel fully persuaded that the community, under my peculiar circumstances, will see, without dissatisfaction, if not with cordial approbation, this further effort to rescue my character from unmerited imputations, I should nevertheless have remained silent, and cheerfully abided its decision, on the disclosures and explanations heretofore made, if I had no additional facts to offer to its consideration. But a body of highly important evidence has been collected, establishing some material circumstances not before generally known, and confirming others of which the public are already in possession, and

have thought it due to the occasion not to withhold it.

Gen. Jackson having entirely failed to establish, by an affirmative evidence, either positive or presumptive, the charge which he thought proper to promulgate against me, it occurred to me that it might be possible, difficult as the task generally is to substantiate a negative, to adduce proof of that character, which would establish the groundless nature of his accusation. Prior to the appearance in the public prints of the letter from Mr. Carter Beverly to his friend in Fayetteville, dated the 8th of March last, I had never believed that General Jackson had countenanced the truth, or lent himself to the circulation, of the charge. I had indeed, long before, seen in one of the Nashville papers, assertions, injurious to me, which created some suspicions that they had emanated from him; but I dismissed these suspicions as being altogether incompatible with the lofty character which I wished to believe that he possessed. When however I saw that letter, and the uncontradicted corroboration of its contents by the Editor of the Washington Telegraph, I was reluctantly compelled to believe that he had given currency to the charge against me. In that letter, Mr. Beverly says: "I have just returned from General Jackson's—I found a crowd of company with him. Seven Virginians were of the number. He gave me a most friendly reception, and urged me to stay some days longer with him. He told me this morning before all his company in reply to a question I put to him concerning the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends that, if they would promise for him not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would in one hour make him (Jackson) the President. He most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared he would not compromise himself; and unless most openly and fairly made the President, by Congress, he never would receive it. He declares that he said to them, that he would see the whole earth sink under him before he would bargain or intrigue for it." In the Washington City Telegraph of the 26th day of April last, the Editor states: "In the Journal this morning we have another quotation from the Democratic Press, purporting to be the official contradiction by Mr. Clay of the statement of Gen. Jackson relative to the overtures made to him as to the formation of his Cabinet, previous to the late election of President. That Gen. Jackson has spoken of such overtures *personally known*." In the same paper of the 28th of April, is the following paragraph: "The Journal is out this morning in reply to our remarks of Thursday, in which they affect to consider it highly improper in General Jackson to speak of the overtures made by Mr. Clay's friends—and why? because, says the Journal, he is a Candidate against Mr. Adams. Now we stated explicitly that Gen. Jackson spoke of these overtures in March 1825, before he was announced by the Legislature of Tennessee as a Candidate."

The charge, if it did not originate with, having been thus sanctioned and circulated by General Jackson, and implicating as well my friends as me, I thought it proper, having myself repeatedly and positively denied its truth, to resort to the testimony of those gentlemen from the West who had voted with me for Mr. Adams. Accordingly a friend of mine, Dr. Watkins, at my instance, addressed a circular to those gentlemen, during the last Spring, inviting their attention to the Fayetteville letter, and inquiring if there were any truth in its averments. And he has obtained from all of them but two, answers which are now presented to the public. These answers will be found in the Appendix, (see A.) arranged according to the respective delegations from which they proceed. The writers of them are men of as high respectability as any in this Union. Where they are known, (and several of them are well known in various parts of the country,) their statements will command unqualified belief. The excellence of their characters is so well established, that a member of the House of Representatives, who will not be presumed to be disposed to bestow on them undeserved encomiums, felt himself constrained to bear his testimony to it. Mr. McDuffie said in the H. of Representatives, on the debate of the proposition to refer to a Committee the appeal which I made on the occasion of Mr. Kremer's card: "Let me add one word to the friends of Mr. Clay on this floor, (and there are no members on this floor, for whom generally I feel more respect.) I have been informed that some of his friends suppose that the amendment I have offered contains something which is intended to bear harshly upon them. Not so; not so. My object is merely to confine the charges made against the honorable Speaker to the very words of the letter of the gentleman from Pennsylvania." This just but voluntary tribute, was expressed on the 4th of Feb. 1825, (see Nat. Intelligencer, 5th of the same month.) On the 31st March, 1826, more than thirteen months after, when the amendment to the Constitution was under discussion, proposing a new mode of electing a President, the same gentleman is reported to have said: "Now I have the greatest respect for those gentlemen who were the personal and political friends of Mr. Clay in the late election of President. Next to my own personal friends, there are none whom I estimate more highly." (See Nat. Intelligencer, 2d May, 1826.) These answers are not only entitled to the fullest credit, from the high respectability of the characters of those gentlemen, but deserves great confidence from the fact that they have been respectively

prepared by themselves, without any concert whatever, so far as I know or believe, and when they were at their several residences, widely separated from each other.

The members from Ohio who voted for Mr. Adams were Gen. McArthur, General Vance, General Beecher, Mr. Sloane, Mr. Wright, Mr. Vinton, Mr. McLean, (brother of the Post Master General) Mr. Whittlesey, Mr. Bartley, and Mr. Patterson. From each of these gentlemen it will be seen that an explicit and unqualified negative is given to the statements of the Fayetteville letter. Gen. McArthur declares them to be "totally destitute of foundation." He alleges the fact to have been that "the Ohio delegation (or at least a large majority of them) were the first of Mr. Clay's friends who came to the determination of voting for Mr. Adams; and that too without having ascertained Mr. Clay's views on the subject." He states that some of the friends of Gen. Jackson used the language of menace, whilst others of them employed that of persuasion to prevail on my friends to vote for the General; and that they appeared to be willing to make any promises which they thought "would induce the friends of Mr. Clay to vote for Gen. Jackson."

Gen. Vance states, "I say without hesitation that I never heard of those, or any other terms being thought of, as an equivalent for the vote we were about to give; nor do I believe that the friends of Mr. Clay, or Mr. Clay himself, ever thought of making or suggesting any terms to any one of the parties, as the grounds of our acceptance or rejection of either of the three Candidates returned to the House of Representatives." He continues: "as one of the original friends of Mr. Clay, I was in the habit of free and unreserved conversation both with him and his other friends, relative to that election, and I am bold to say that I never heard a whisper of anything like a condition on which our vote was to be given, mentioned either by Mr. Clay himself, or any of his friends, at any time or under any circumstances."

Gen. Beecher testifies that he did not "know that a friend of the friends of Mr. Clay ever made any proposition to the friends of Gen. Jackson, respecting the election of Mr. Adams as President in any way, or as respecting Gen. Jackson not putting Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, in case he (Jackson) should be elected President. Neither am I acquainted with a friend of Mr. Clay that would consent to be an agent in such a degrading transaction. Nor can I admit that the friends of Mr. Clay had so contemptible an opinion of each other or of Mr. Clay, as to suppose that the appointment or non appointment of any man to any office would influence them in the discharge of an important public duty."

Mr. Sloane declares, "that I have always supposed myself in the entire confidence of all Mr. Clay's supporters and friends, who were members of Congress at the time of the Presidential election; and that I have no hesitation in saying that I never heard the most distant insinuation from any of them that they would vote for Gen. Jackson, if there was any prospect of choosing either of the other candidates. That any of the friends of Mr. Clay in Congress ever made any proposition of conditions, on which their votes would depend, to the friends of Gen. Jackson or any other person, I do not believe." "And as to Mr. Clay's accepting an appointment under him, they would to a man most certainly have opposed it. I judge of this from the opinion which I know they entertained of Gen. Jackson's want of capacity and the fact that it was not until some time after the choice of Mr. Adams that they agreed to advise Mr. Clay to accept of the office he now holds." "In short I feel confident that the whole is a vile and infamous falsehood, such as honorable men would not resort to, more especially after having upon full consultation and deliberate consideration declined an investigation of the whole matter before a Committee of the House of Representatives."

Mr. Wright states, "I can only say sincerely and unequivocally, that I do not know or believe that any proposition of the kind mentioned as from Gen. Jackson, was ever made to the friends of Gen. Jackson by the friends of Mr. Clay or any of them; and that I am wholly ignorant of any conditions of any sort being proposed to any one by the friends of Mr. Clay, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend."

Mr. Vinton is equally explicit. He says, "having been one of the friends of Mr. Clay who voted for Mr. Adams, I cheerfully avail myself of this opportunity to say, that I have no knowledge whatever of the above mentioned proposition or any other proposition having been made to General Jackson or any of his friends, by Mr. Clay or any of his friends as a condition upon which his or their vote was to be given to Gen. Jackson for the Presidency." He subjoins that "it was well known to my constituents for many months previous to the late Presidential election, that after Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams was my next choice among the distinguished individuals, who were then before the people of the United States as candidates for that exalted station."

Mr. McLean declares, "that no such proposition was ever made within my knowledge, nor have I any cause to believe that conditions of any sort were made, at any time, by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend."

Mr. Whittlesey avers that "I do not know or believe that any proposition was ever made by

any of Mr. Clay's friends to those of Gen. Jackson, on the morning of the Presidential election, or at any other time, having any bearing on the candidate to be selected from the three returned to the House, nor do I know or believe that any conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend;" "but I do believe that the assertion made by Gen. Jackson as reported by a highly respectable Virginian, and all of the charges of a like character, imputing either to Mr. Adams or to Mr. Clay, or to their friends, any improper, inconsistent, corrupt or fraudulent conduct, on that interesting and momentous occasion, are base slanders, known to be such by those who put them in circulation."

Mr. Bartley expresses the belief in justice to Gen. Jackson, that he never made the declaration alluded to by Mr. Beverly. "For the General was there when the election took place, and must inevitably have known that such a statement would carry falsehood on the very face of it." He adds "I was in the House, I believe every day of that session, at which the President was elected; and have no hesitation in saying that so far from making any proposition, or overture, were the friends of Mr. Clay, in favor of the General, that had the friends of the General made such a proposition we would have considered it as an indignity offered to our integrity and understanding."

Mr. Patterson is brief but pointed. He says: "I frankly state to you that if any such proposition as you state was made by the friends of Clay to those of Gen. Jackson, I had no knowledge of it, and I was one of the friends of Clay. I therefore believe the report to be without an honest foundation."

In passing from the testimony of the delegation from Ohio to that of Kentucky, we shall find it to be not less irrefragable and decisive in negating the declaration of Gen. Jackson, communicated to the public through Mr. Beverly. The Kentucky delegation consisted of twelve members; eight of whom, Mr. Trimble, Mr. F. Johnson, Gen. Metcalfe, Mr. Letcher, Mr. Buckner, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Wolfe, and myself, voted for Mr. Adams. From six of them, statements have been received. That from Mr. White has not reached this city; but I am justified in stating that he has resolutely, within his district after his return to Kentucky, borne unqualified testimony to the falsehood of all charges of corruption in the election, and especially to the propriety of my conduct; and I have no doubt that he will whenever called upon repeat the same testimony.

Mr. Trimble says, "I do not know of my own knowledge, nor have I been informed by others, that offers, propositions, or overtures such as are spoken of by Gen. Jackson in his letter to Beverly, or similar thereto, or of any kind whatever, were made by Mr. Adams or his friends, to Mr. Clay or his friends; or by Mr. Clay or his friends, to Gen. Jackson or his friends. I do not know, nor do I believe that Mr. Adams or his friends made overtures or offers, directly or indirectly, to Mr. Clay or his friends to make him Secretary of State, if he and his friends would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams. Nor do I know or believe that any pledge or promise of any kind was made by Mr. Adams or his friends to Mr. Clay or his friends, to procure his aid in the election."

"I never heard from Mr. Clay, or any of his friends, or any one else that he was willing to vote for Gen. Jackson, if the General would say, or any of his friends for him, that Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State. Nor do I know or believe that Mr. Clay ever expressed a willingness, or any of his friends for him, to support or vote for Gen. Jackson, if he could obtain the office of Secretary of State under him."

"I do not know or believe that any overtures or offers of any kind were made by Mr. Clay or his friends to Mr. Adams or his friends to vote for him or support him if he would make Mr. Clay Secretary of State; or to Gen. Jackson or his friends to vote for him or support him, if he could obtain the office of Secretary of State under him; nor do I believe Mr. Clay would have taken office under him if he had been elected." I shall hereafter have occasion to notice other parts of the letter of Mr. Trimble from which the preceding extract has been taken.

Mr. F. Johnson states in his answer to Dr. Watkins, "I have no hesitation however in answering your inquiries. After writing the above extract, you say to me, 'If such a proposition were ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay to those of Gen. Jackson, it must have been known to many persons, and the fact therefore may be ascertained.' May I ask the favor of you to inform me whether you know or believe any such proposition was ever made, or whether conditions of any sort were made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person on compliance with which their vote was to depend?"

"To the first branch of the inquiry, my answer is that I have no knowledge of any such proposition, nor do I believe any such was ever made. To the second I answer that I neither know of, nor do I believe that any conditions of any sort were made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on compliance with which their vote was to depend."

Gen. Metcalfe, with his characteristic firmness and frankness, says: "I have to state that I never heard or thought of such a proposition until

the letter of the highly respectable Virginian appeared in the public prints." He proceeds, "As one of the friends of Mr. Clay I enter the most solemn protest against the right of the General, through his organ the highly respectable Virginian, or otherwise, to say that I would have assisted in making him President on the condition stated. On the contrary, if I could have been made to believe that Gen. Jackson would not have offered to Mr. Adams the place which he had filled with so much ability under Mr. Monroe, that belief would have constituted in my mind a strong additional objection to the General's success." "If it is intended to import the belief that Mr. Clay's friends were desirous of obtaining the appointment for him to the exclusion of Mr. Adams or otherwise under General Jackson, as one of his friends, I pronounce it a base and infamous assault upon the motives and honor, so far as I am concerned or believe, of those who did not choose to support him for the Presidency." "In reply to your second inquiry, I have to say that if conditions of any sort were ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend, I know nothing of it."

Judge Letcher, the only member of Congress who boarded in the same house with me, during the session at which the Presidential election was made, testifies: "I know of no such proposition or intimation, nor have I a knowledge of any fact or circumstance which would induce me to believe Mr. Clay's friends, or any one of them, ever made such a proposition to the friends of Gen. Jackson."

Mr. Thompson says: "I know of no proposition made by the friends of Mr. Clay to the friends of Gen. Jackson to make him President if he would not select Mr. Adams to the seat of Secretary; and I do not believe a proposition of any kind was made, and I expect if the friends of the General should ever speak on the subject, he will be a second Kremer."

Mr. Buckner testifies: "In answer to your inquiries on this subject, I will remark that I have no reason to believe that any such proposition was made. Indeed no proposition of any description relating to the election of President was made, so far as I know or believe, by Mr. Clay's friends to those of Gen. Jackson, or of any other person."

Mr. Scott, the member from Missouri, states that "neither Mr. Adams nor his friends ever made any promises or overtures to me, nor did they hold out to me any inducements of any sort, kind or character whatever, to procure me to vote for Mr. Adams. Nor did Mr. Adams or any of his friends ever say or insinuate what would be placed at the head of the Department of State, or any other department, in the event that Mr. Adams should be elected. Nor do I believe any propositions were made to Mr. Clay or his friends, by Mr. Adams or his friends. If there were I know it not." "I never made to Gen. Jackson or to any of his friends any proposition, in reference to the Presidential election, either as regarded the appointment of Mr. Clay or any other person to office, or the exclusion of Mr. Adams or any other person from office. I was neither spoken to by Mr. Clay or any of his friends, about making any proposition to Gen. Jackson or his friends of any kind whatever, nor did I ever hear it insinuated or hinted, that any proposition was made or intended to be made, by Mr. Clay or his friends to Gen. Jackson or his friends, or to any other candidate or their friends for, or relating to the Presidency. And I do believe, having any proposition been made or intended to have been made by Mr. Clay or his friends, from my intimacy and constant intercourse with them, I should have known or heard thereof."

Messrs. Gurley and Brent were the two members who gave the vote of Louisiana to Mr. Adams. Mr. Gurley declares "that I have no knowledge of any propositions having been made by the friends of Mr. Clay or any of them to the friends of Gen. Jackson or to any other person, in relation to the election of President, or the proposition of conditions of any sort, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend. I believe the charge wholly destitute of truth."

Col. Brent says, "In allusion to the Fayetteville letter I cannot express the indignant feelings it excited. It is the fabrication of a desperate man, who to obtain his object dares to assert what he knows to be false. You ask me to say, whether I know or believe that such a proposition was ever made, or whether conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any one, on the compliance with which their vote was made to depend. No honorable man can believe for a moment that such a proposition was ever made, or such a condition stipulated. I was a friend of Mr. Clay's throughout the contest, I was in the confidence of all his friends, and I declare to God that I never heard of such thing until it was asserted by the disappointed adherents of Gen. Jackson. I am not only ignorant of any such arrangements, but do not believe they ever existed."

Thus there is now before the public the united evidence of the delegation from every Western State whose vote was conferred upon Mr. Adams, except that of Mr. Cook the Representative from Illinois. Along and lingering illness, terminating in the death of that gentleman prevents the submission of his. But it is well known that Mr. Adams was his choice, throughout the whole Presi-

dential canvass. Although him and myself good will course, he never was my friend.

Including Mr. White, the defence of twenty different embracing all my friends States who voted for Mr. tion was chiefly directed, their respective statements, letter, and it is to the principally applies. On cur, in pronouncing the tive, and, on other points not less explicit. Is it with the ordinary opera that these Gentlemen shes, for my sole benefit, inously agree in falsify

In the published circular 1825, I addressed to my "at that early period" 1824) "I stated to Dr. Dr. sors in the medical school, versity, and to John J. C. fort, my determination to preference to Gen. Jackson time, recollect, nor do I plaus occasions on which I expre my opinion of the unfitness of the Presidency, and my prefer the other candidates. I reme conversation I had held with J. Crittenden, Esq., and the them. In several instances, tions have been since broug by Gentlemen with whom, they occurred; and I was friendly communication of that I am now enabled to a considerable portion of the (including that of Dr. Dr. topic which is now present

This testimony establishes customs and times, beginning ly as about the 1st of Octo used in the City of Washo and when my determi and was generally known ly expressed my conviction want of qualification, and to vote for him if I were vote. These sentiments, deliberately expressed, highest respectability, mo and particular friends, in I must have stood dishon Gen. Jackson contrary to This purpose was avowed my departure from Kent and immediately on my termination of the journe states that, about the la conversation with me al on the subject and propo tion which he details course of it I said "that with my principles vote der any possible circum all the objections w and which have bo cially that which is possession of milit reference to an object derstood out as entertaini growing out of the nega Trimble states that I rema greatly magnified by the tions" "for electioneering ought to have no influence might be called upon to weak enough to allow his influence his public conduct change in his mind, on the was then on such worse tson about the Seminole war, he with Mr. Adams about the that the selection of a chief Union he would endeavor to d country, and look entirely to the safety and the safety of its

It appears from a letter of ble (one of the associate Jus Court of the U. States,) whi of Mr. D. Trimble, that the former, as early as Feb. his preference of Mr. Ad three Candidates who were the House of Representatives

Col. Davidson (the Treas Kentucky, and a man of un unquestionable veracity) st it which I made to Frank and he thinks only a feeo ture from Kentucky to a therefore have been earl home before, or about the had a conversation with nng Presidential election, he remarked "that I woul to operate in making a Candidates as I should t House, to which I rep nnel, in that event I wou ly triflingly. He adds that of the conversation, "I can event that can possibly induce me to support the election to the Presidency." For the tion, his was of the necessa sufficient. These